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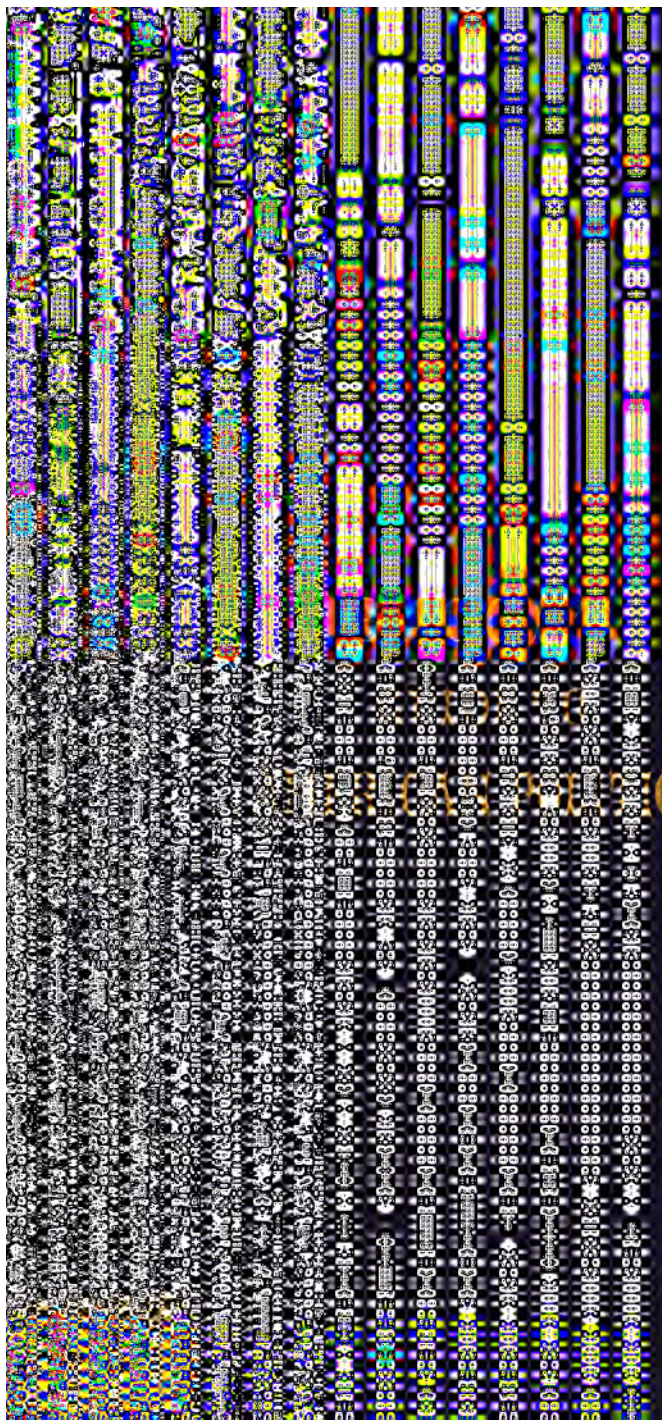
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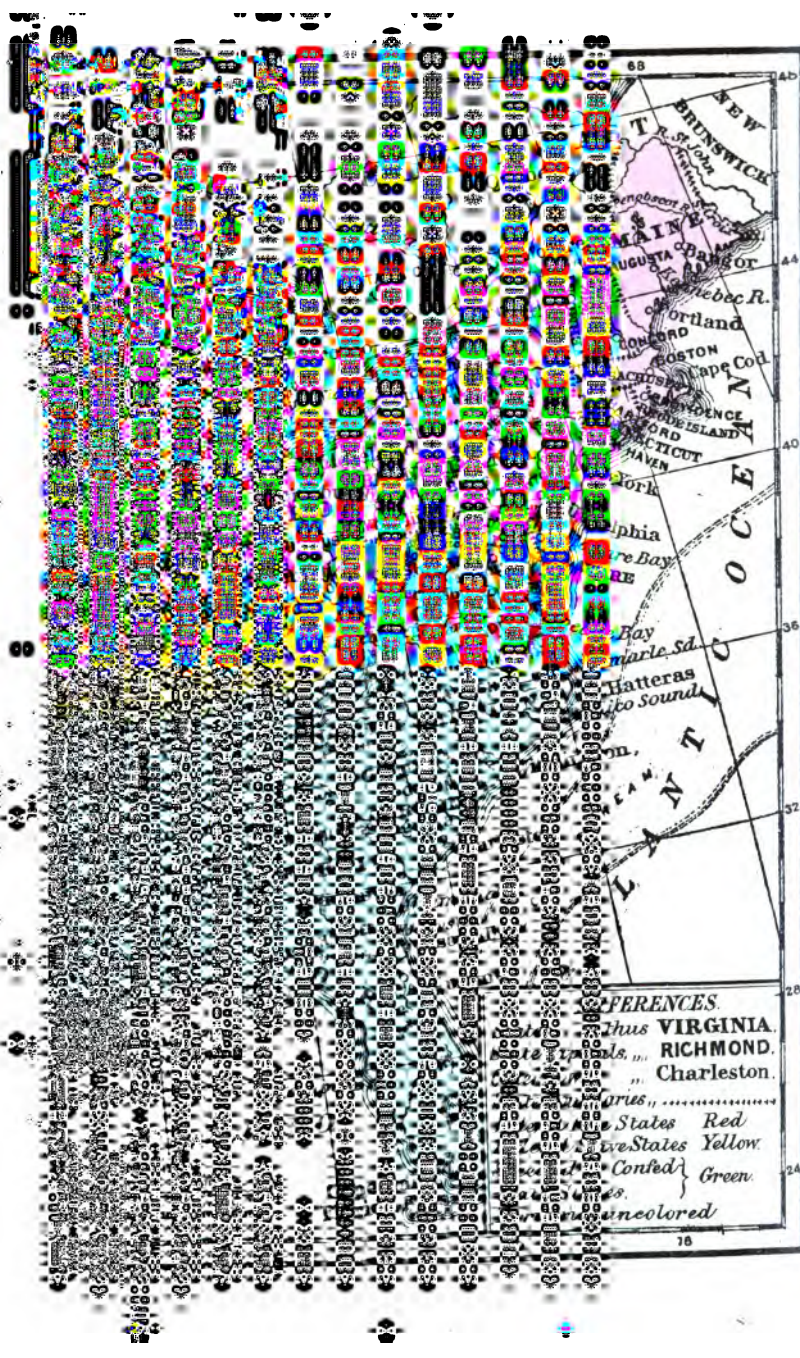
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BACON'S

Guide to

AMERICAN POLITICS;

OR, A COMPLETE VIEW OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES
OF THE
NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS,
WITH THE RESPECTIVE POWERS OF EACH,

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PREFACE.

THE object of this book is to give a clear and brief explanation of the political organization and fundamental principles of the American Government.

By the peculiar division of power in the American system, the people of every state live under two Governments—the National and State Governments—each having its separate sphere and special objects and duties, and each sovereign in its particular capacity. This is a system peculiar to America, and mostly unknown in the European Governments. A knowledge of these peculiar principles, it must be admitted, is essential to a proper understanding of the political news we are constantly receiving and a correct comprehension of the principles involved in the great contest now raging in the New World.

While there are expensive works from which this information may in a measure be obtained, there is none within the knowledge of the compiler especially adapted to the object; and the belief that a cheap work of the kind would supply a want which has long been felt in England has induced the compilation of this Manual.

It is a book of facts, and not opinions; and entire impartiality has been aimed at.

The materials are derived from the best authorities. The statistical matter is compiled from the official returns of the Eighth Decennial Census (1860), inaccessible until recently in America, and now for the first time published in this country.

ORIGIN

OF THE

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

THE continent of North America was chiefly settled by emigrants from Great Britain. The jurisdiction over the new region, as well as the title to its lands, was claimed by the mother country, by right of discovery and conquest. Hence, to acquire the right of property, as well as to sustain themselves against opposition, the authority of Great Britain became necessary to the early colonists. This was given in the form of grants and charters to companies and large proprietors. Such was the grant of the territory of Massachusetts to the Plymouth Company, and of Maryland to Lord Baltimore.*

There were originally three different forms of government in the colonies, viz., the Charter, the Proprietary, and Royal Governments. The Charter Governments were confined to the New England states: the middle and Southern colonies were divided between the Proprietary and Royal Governments.

These different governments, operating also upon a people of different habits and manners, as the Puritans of New England, the Cavaliers of Virginia, and the Quakers of Pennsylvania, produced many diversities of legislation and political character. Notwithstanding these, however, the necessities of a common danger from

* Pitkin's Civil History, p. 31.

hostile tribes of Indians, and of a common interest from similarity of circumstances, soon induced a union or confederacy of the colonies. In 1643, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, formed a league, which, by their articles of confederation, was declared to be a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, under the name of the United Colonies of New England. The chief points in this confederation were:—1st. That each colony should have peculiar jurisdiction and government within its own limits. 2nd. That the quotas of men and money were to be furnished in proportion to the population, for which purpose a census was to be taken from time to time of such as were able to bear arms. 3rd. That to manage such matters as concerned the whole confederation, a congress of two commissioners from each colony should meet annually, with power to weigh and determine all affairs of war and peace, leagues, aids, charges, and whatever else were proper concomitants of a confederation offensive and defensive; and that to determine any question, three-fourths of these commissioners must agree, or the matter is to be referred to the general courts. 4th. That these commissioners may choose a president, but that such president has no power over the business or proceedings. 5th. That neither of the colonies should engage in any war without consent of the general commissioners. 6th. That if any of the confederates should break any of these articles, or otherwise injure any of the other confederates, then such breach should be considered and ordered by the commissioners of the other colonies.

But this confederacy was, by agreement, a mere league, from motives of amity, for objects of general offence and defence. As such, it was as good a model as any which history presents us; but as a government, it was utterly inefficient, its principal defects in the last point of view were—1st. The want of an executive, without which it could never act as a whole. All the acts of the commissioners had to be enforced by each separate colony: they did not act upon individuals. 2d. The want of a General

Judiciary, by which offences arising between the several members, or against the whole confederacy, might be taken cognizance of. 3rd. The want of any general power to obtain credit or emit money. In short, this league did not pretend to be a government, and was deficient in nearly all the attributes of sovereignty. This confederacy continued forty years. In 1754, a congress of commissioners, representing the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, was held at Albany. This convention unanimously resolved, that a union of the colonies was absolutely necessary for their preservation. They proposed a general plan of federal government, which however was not accepted by the mother country, but may serve to show what progress in ideas of government had then been made by the colonists.* It is remarkable that the scheme proposed did not purport, like the other, to be a league, or confederation, but a plan for one general government. Its principal provisions were—1. That the general government should be administered by a President-General appointed by the crown, and a grand council chosen by the representatives of the people in their general assemblies. 2. That the council should be chosen every three years, and shall meet once each year. 3. That the assent of the president be necessary to all acts of the council, and that it is his duty to see them executed. 4. That the president and council may hold treaties, make peace, and declare war with the several Indian tribes. 5. That for these purposes they have power to levy and collect such duties, imposts and taxes, as to them shall seem just.

It will be seen that this was a much nearer approach to an organised government than the confederacy of 1643. It provided for a strong executive, but was without the sanction of a general judiciary, and made no provision for regulating the currency.

* Kent's Commentaries, p. 191, 192.

In May, 1775, the first congress of the thirteen states assembled at Philadelphia; and in July, 1776, issued the Declaration of Independence.*

We now come to the articles of confederation under which the United States successfully terminated the Revolution.† During the early part of the Revolution, the powers of a general nature were executed without question or hindrance by a congress of deputies from the several states.‡ Patriotism and a common danger absorbed all other principles, and made ordinary ties unnecessary. A universal opinion however prevailed in favor of union, and after much deliberation, congress, in November, 1777, agreed upon the articles of confederation.§ They were, after various delays, ratified by the different states; the principal objection being in respect to the wild lands, which were claimed by several of the states, but which others urged should go to bear the common burthen. In the sequel, these lands were ceded by the states who held them, to the common benefit of the Union.

The Articles of Confederation provided :—

1st. That the style of the Confederacy should be the “United States of America.”

2nd. That each state should retain its sovereignty, independence, and such rights as were not delegated to the general Congress.

3rd. That the object of the league was the general welfare, and the common defence against foreign aggression.

4th. That the citizens of one state shall have the privileges of citizens in another, and that full faith and

* The Declaration of Independence will be found in full on page 40.

† The Revolution lasted seven years, the colonies achieving their independence from Great Britain in 1783.

‡ Journal of Congress, vol. 2, p. 475.

§ 1 Kent's Comm., 197.

credit shall be given to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings in another state.

5th. That for the management of the general interests, delegates shall be annually appointed to meet in Congress, each state not having less than two nor more than seven; and that in determining questions in Congress, each state shall have one vote.

6th. That no state shall, without the consent of Congress, enter into any treaty or alliance with any foreign power or nation, or with any other state; nor lay any imposts or duties interfering with any stipulations contained in any treaty made by Congress; nor keep any vessels of war or armed forces in time of peace, except such as Congress may deem necessary; nor engage in any war without the consent of Congress, unless the state be actually invaded, or the danger imminent; nor grant letters of marque, unless such state be infested with pirates.

7th. All charges for the general welfare shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be levied in proportion to the value of land within each state.

8th. The "United States in Congress assembled" shall have the exclusive right of making peace and war; entering into treaties and alliances; granting letters of marque, and establishing courts and rules for the trial of piracies and felonies, and determining questions in relation to captures; and that the Congress have the power to determine all questions and differences between two or more states, concerning any cause whatever, which authority shall be exercised by instituting a court in manner and form as provided, where judgment shall be final and decisive; and that they have power to fix the standard of weights, measures, and coin; establish Post-offices and Commission-officers; that they shall have power to appoint a committee of the states, and such other civil officers as may be necessary to manage the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to elect their President; to fix the sums of money

to be raised; to borrow money and emit bills of credit; to agree on the number of forces to be raised, which are to be distributed among the states in proportion to their white inhabitants; that the "United States" shall not exercise these powers unless nine states assent to the same, nor shall any question except that of adjournment be determined unless by the votes of a majority of the states.

9th. It is further provided, that the committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorised to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, or any nine of them, shall think proper to vest them with.

10th. All debts contracted under the authority of Congress shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for which the public faith is pledged.

11th. That every state shall abide by the determinations of Congress upon the questions submitted to it, and the union shall be perpetual.

Such is a synopsis of the articles of confederation, under which the United States terminated the war of the Revolution, and continued till the adoption of the present Constitution. It will be remarked,

1. That the states still assumed the style of a league or confederacy, and that, 2ndly, they had notwithstanding granted away many attributes of sovereignty, even greater than those proposed to be vested in the President and Council by the plan of 1754.

This Confederacy had many obvious and palpable deficiencies, as a government, principally, however, in the mode and process of its administration.

1. There was still wanting an Executive in form, though nearly all its powers were granted to Congress and the "committee of the states."

2. No general Judiciary was provided; yet they had gone so far as to provide a Marine or Admiralty Court, and a general tribunal to settle conflicts and disputes between the several states.

3. The great deficiency was, that the articles of confederation did not act upon individuals, but upon the states; and that to raise men and money, it was necessary to act through the medium of many distinct governments.

These inherent defects forced the states to the adoption of the present system. During the Revolution, the pressure of an instant and common danger kept the states in a close union, and incited them to make all possible efforts in the common defence. When that was over, however, mutual jealousies and separate interests, weakening the common bonds, soon proved the utter insufficiency of a mere confederacy for the purposes of national government. Then it was that the ablest heads and the purest hearts in the nation exercised their faculties in devising a new and better form of government. General Washington, in June, 1783, addressed a letter to the governors of the several states, in which he says, "There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an independent power. 1. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head. 2. A sacred regard to public justice. 3. The adoption of a proper peace establishment. 4. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local politics and prejudices."*

Under the first head he remarked that, "It is only in our united character that we are known as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of European powers with the United States of America will have no validity on a dissolution of the Union. We may find by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 5, c. 1, p. 46.

10 THE ORIGIN OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

of liberty abused to licentiousness." Such were the sentiments of Washington, and such then were those of the nation.

In 1787, the convention of delegates from twelve states was convened, and after much deliberation formed the present Constitution of the United States.

By resolution of the convention, it was directed to be carried into effect when ratified by the conventions of nine states chosen by "the people thereof."* That ratification, after much opposition, scrutinizing discussion, and the adoption of several amendments, it finally received, and all the states, eventually assenting to its provisions, became members of the Union; and on the 4th of March, 1789, it went into practical operation, and on the 30th of April following, George Washington having been unanimously elected, was inaugurated the first President.

By a comparison of the original association of 1643, the plan of 1754, and the articles of confederation, we find that the minds of the colonists had gradually tended from the notion of separate sovereignties to that of a general and united government. Each change, founded on experience had given additional strength to the confederacy. Thus the association of 1643 was a simple league, existing by means of treaties, and exercised through commissioners; and though possessing many of the attributes of sovereignty, holding them only through an alliance. The plan of 1754, though not adopted, was that of a general government, with a strong executive. The articles of confederation of 1777, though reverting back to the form of a confederacy, greatly increased, in theory, the powers of government: For example, it superadded to the powers of former Congresses, those of emitting bills of credit, establishing Marine Courts, and judging between the states. Under this confederation, the United States, by the peace of 1783, achieved their

* Marshall's Wash. vol. 5, p. 129.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. 11

separate and independent existence as a nation. Yet we have already seen, it was found insufficient for the purposes of a stable government, and how, in 1787, the present Constitution was formed and adopted; and from that period up to 1860, more than seventy years, withstood unharmed the various violent influences of local feuds, opposing interests, domestic insurrection, and foreign violence.



Constitution of the United States.

PREAMBLE.

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

The Constitution contains seven articles, to which have been added several miscellaneous amendments.

Article 1st. Relates to the Legislative Power.

Article 2nd. To the Executive Power.

Article 3rd. To the Judicial Power.

Article 4th. To the validity of Public Acts and Records—the rights of Citizenship—the admission of new States—and the forms of State Governments.

Article 5th. Relates to the mode of amending the Constitution.

Article 6th. To the national faith and the binding force of the Constitution.

Article 7th. To the mode of its ratification.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Legislative Power.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons—including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed—three-fifths of all other persons.* The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from

* The other persons referred to are slaves, and consequently the slave holding states have a representation in the *House of Representatives*, for three-fifths of the number of slaves. This provision was the result of a compromise, without which it is probable the Union would never have been formed.

any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of Impeachment.

SECTION III.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of

the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress,

shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it.* If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree

* This power of the President has been frequently exercised—by George Washington, in respect to a Bill fixing the ratio of representation—by President Monroe, on the Internal Improvement Bill—by President Jackson, on the United States Bank—by President Taylor, on the Tariff Bill, and in other cases.

to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power :—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;
3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;
4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization,* and

* In pursuance of this power Congress has passed laws prescribing the mode of naturalization. They provide that any alien of full age shall be admitted to citizenship in the following manner :—1st. He shall declare on oath that it is his intention to become a citizen of the United States,

uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof,* and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;†

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute

and renounce for ever all foreign allegiance. 2d. That he shall declare on oath that he will support the Constitution of the United States. 3rd. That the Court admitting such alien shall be satisfied that he has resided within the United States the continued term of five years next preceding his admission, and that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character:

* The coinage is entirely decimal. The Spanish milled dollar is taken as the unit, and all smaller coin is in tenth parts, and all gold coin is in cents above. Five dollars are equal to one pound sterling.

† The term for which a patent may be obtained is seventeen years. The cost of obtaining which is thirty-five dollars. Copyrights are secured for twenty-eight years.

the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases, whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States,* and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed upon such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.†

* In pursuance of this power Congress, in 1790, accepted of a grant from the States of Virginia and Maryland, of ten miles square, on the Potomac, for the seat of Government, which is the present *District of Columbia*, in which the City of Washington is situated; and in April, 1862, in exercise of the exclusive jurisdiction guaranteed by this clause, abolished slavery therein.

† The persons here referred to were slaves, and the effect of this clause was to permit the slave trade till 1808. After that date Congress prohibited it in every direction, and affixed to it the penalties of piracy.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation;* grant letters of marque or reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except

* When the States parted with this power to enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, they parted with one of those characteristics which had previously made them independent of each other, and thus they divested themselves of national sovereignty.

what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Of the Executive Power.

SECTION I.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:—

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[* The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the person voted for, and the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be

* This clause within brackets has been superseded and annulled by the twelfth amendment, on page 32.

counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and on the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President,* and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have

* Under this provision Vice-President Tyler, in 1841, succeeded President Harrison, who died just one month after his inauguration. Vice-President Fillmore also succeeded President Taylor under this provision in 1850.

been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.*

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation :

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION II.

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of Impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

* Congress has permanently fixed the salary of the President at 25,000 dollars per annum, and that of the Vice-President at 5,000 dollars.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Judicial Power.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all

cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States,—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizen thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes except in cases of Impeachment, shall be by jury: and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Validity of Public Acts and Records—the Rights of Citizenship—the Admission of New States, and the forms of State Governments.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.*

SECTION III.

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so

* This clause refers to the slaves of the Southern States, who may escape and take refuge in the Northern States.

construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Mode of Amending the Constitution.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing the amendments, which, in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the National Faith and the Binding Force of the Constitution.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Mode of its Ratification.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GEO. WASHINGTON,

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.

Wm. Saml. Johnson. Roger Sherman.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

9

NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.

Wil. Livingston,
Wm. Paterson,

David Brearley,
Jona. Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

B. Franklin,
Robt. Morris,
Thos. Fitzsimons,
James Wilson,

Thomas Mifflin,
Geo. Clymer,
Jared Ingersoll,
Gouv. Morris.

DELAWARE.

Geo. Reed,
John Dickinson,
Jaco. Broom,

Ganning Bedford, Jun.,
Richard Bassett.

MARYLAND.

James McHenry,
Dan. Carroll.

Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer.

VIRGINIA.

John Blair,

James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Wm. Blount,
Hu. Williamson.

Rich'd Dobbs Spaight.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. Rutledge,
Charles Pinckney,

C. Cotesworth Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.

William Few,

Abr. Balwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

ARTICLES

IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE

Constitution of the United States of America,

PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE
LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT
TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CON-
STITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establish-
ment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;
or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or
the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to
petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security
of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear
arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any
house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of
war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons,
houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches
and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall
issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or
affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be
searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

1. The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no per

son have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

DATES OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND OF THE AMENDMENTS.

The Constitution	17th September, 1787.
The first ten Amendments	15th December, 1791.
The eleventh Amendment	8th January, 1798.
The twelfth Amendment	25th September, 1804.

Mode of Ratification of the Constitution.

THE Convention,* which *formed* the Constitution, was composed of delegates chosen by the State Legislature. When the Convention had formed the Constitution, they by resolution directed it to be "laid before the United States in Congress assembled," and declared their opinion that it should afterwards "be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under a recommendation of its legislature, for their *assent and ratification*;" and that each convention assenting thereto, and ratifying it, should notify Congress thereof.†

Accordingly, Congress having received the report of the convention,—‡Resolved, that the report, resolutions, and letter accompanying them, be transmitted to the several legislatures, to be by them submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the *people thereof*, in conformity to the resolve of the convention.

Under this resolution of Congress, the several States called *conventions* of the *people*, and the Constitution being submitted to them, was ratified successively by all of them, and the Constitution became the supreme law of the land.

The language of the ratification Conventions is remarkably uniform and explicit, as to the source whence the Constitution receives its authority and force.

* Pitkin's Civil History, p. 219.

† Elliott's Debates, 248.

‡ Idem.

All the ratifications commence with, "We, the delegates of the people;" and all terminate by making the ratifications "in the name of our constituents, the people." Thus the states in their official capacity *proposed* the Constitution, and the people by ratifying it, gave it *authority* and binding force; it is therefore a government founded by separate states, but receiving its sanction and validity from the whole people in their sovereign capacity.

The following are the original thirteen states in the order in which they ratified it, viz., Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.

The Constitution, after its formation, was addressed to the President of Congress, and accompanied by a letter from General Washington, President of the Convention, from which the following extracts are taken.

The letter shows in what light the Constitution was then viewed, and what were the objects of its formation* :—

"It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interests and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend, as well on situation and circumstance as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved; and, on the present occasion, this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

"In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of the Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity,

* Elliott's Debates, 249.

safety,—perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed upon our minds led each state in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus, the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.”

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

[Adopted in Congress, July 4th, 1776.]

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of

abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such as been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over the States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

Geo
III

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage

their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military, independent of, and superior to, the civil powers.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops amongst us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring

themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as

we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

(Signed) JOHN HANCOCK.

And fifty-five other members from the 13 States.



Theory of Government.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT,

THE National Government of the United States is a DEMOCRATIC FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC, composed of states, and based on the constitution of 1787.

By the Constitution the power of the government is vested in three great departments—the Executive—the Legislative—and the Judicial.

THE EXECUTIVE.

The Executive power is vested in a President. He is the only Executive officer known to the Constitution.

He is elected by an Electoral College, chosen by the popular vote of all the States; the number of electors from each State being equal to the number of senators and representatives which each has in Congress. His term of office is four years, but he is eligible for re-election indefinitely.

No person is eligible to the office of President, who is not a native-born citizen of the age of thirty-five years. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the militia in the service of the Union. He has the power of a veto on all laws passed by Congress; but notwithstanding his veto any bill may become a law on its afterwards being passed by two-thirds of both Houses of congress. The President has a salary

of 25,000 dollars per annum, and the "White House" at Washington as a residence during his term of office.

The Vice-President is *ex-officio* President of the Senate; and in case of the death or resignation of the President, he becomes the President for the remainder of the term.

The elections for President and Vice-President are held in all the States on the first Tuesday in November, every four years; and on the 4th of March following the new President elect is inaugurated. Therefore in November, 1864, the election will be held for President, to succeed Mr. Lincoln, whose term of office expires, March 4, 1865.

Since the adoption of the Constitution the offices of President and Vice-President have been occupied as follows:—

Presidents.	Vice-Presidents.	Terms of Office.
1 George Washington, Do. Do.	John Adams.	30th April, 1789 to 4th March, 1791
" Do. Do.	Do. Do.	4th March, 1793 " " 1793
2 John Adams.....	Thomas Jefferson	" 1797 " " 1807
3 Thomas Jefferson ...	Aaron Burr	" 1801 " " 1806
" Do. Do. ...	George Clinton.....	" 1805 " " 1809
4 James Madison	Do. Do.	" 1809 " " 1813
" Do. Do.	Elbr. Gerry	" 1813 " " 1817
5 James Monroe	Dan. D. Tompkins	" 1817 " " 1821
" Do. Do.	Do. Do.	" 1821 " " 1825
6 Jon. Quincy Adams	John C. Calhoun ...	" 1825 " " 1829
7 Andrew Jackson ...	Do. Do.	" 1829 " " 1833
" Do. Do. ...	Martin Van Buren	" 1833 " " 1837
8 Martin Van Buren	Richd. M. Johnson	" 1837 " " 1841
9 { Wm. H. Harrison John Tyler		" 1841 " 4th April, 1841
10 { J. Tyler (on the death of Gen. Harrison	4th April,	1841 " 4th March, 1845
11 James K. Polk	George M. Dallas ...	4th March, 1845 " " 1849
12 { Zachary Taylor... Millard Fillmore ...		1849 " 9th July, 1850
13 { M. Fillmore (on death of Gen. Taylor)	9th July,	1850 " 4th March, 1853
14 Franklin Pierce ...	Wm. R. King.....	4th March, 1853 " " 1857
15 James Buchanan...	J. C. Breckenridge...	" 1857 " " 1861
16 Abraham Lincoln	Hannibal Hamlin ...	" 1861 " " 1865

The administrative business of the nation is conducted by several officers, with the title of secretaries, etc., who form what is termed the "Cabinet." They are chosen by the President. Each of these presides over a separate department, under the authority of the President.

The present Cabinet is as follows:—

William H. Eward	...	...	...	...	Secretary of State
Salmon P. Chase	...	...	...	...	Secretary of Treasury
E. M. Stanton	...	...	...	...	Secretary of War
Gideon Wells	...	...	...	...	Secretary of Navy
Caleb B. Smith	...	...	...	...	Secretary of the Interior
Montgomery Blair	...	...	...	...	Postmaster General
Edward Bates	...	...	...	...	Attorney General

THE LEGISLATIVE.

All legislative powers are vested in Congress, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate or Upper House, consists of two members from each State, chosen by the State legislatures for six years. Senators must be not less than thirty years of age; must have been citizens of the United States for nine years; and be residents of the State for which they are chosen. Each Senator is entitled to one vote.

Besides its ordinary capacity, the Senate is vested with certain judicial functions, and its members constitute a High Court of Impeachment. The judgment only extends to removal from office and disqualification. Representatives have the sole power of impeachment.

The House of Representatives, or Lower House, is composed of members elected every second year by the people of the several States. To ascertain the number to which each State is entitled, a census is taken every ten years, including in the enumeration for this object, three-fifths of the slaves. Each State is entitled to at least one representative. The whole number of representatives for 1863 is 241, or one to every 124,000. Representatives must be not less than twenty-five years of age, citizens of the United States for seven years, and be residents in the States from which they are chosen. In addition to the representatives from the States, the House admits a representative from each organised territory, who has a right to debate on subjects in which his territory is interested; but is not entitled to a vote.

Since the Department of Interior was created in 1849 the business Secretary of State is confined to foreign affairs.

THE JUDICIAL.

The judicial powers of the United States Government are vested in a Supreme Court, and such other inferior courts as Congress may establish. The present judicial establishment consists of a Supreme Court, Circuit Court, and District Courts.

The Attorney-General as the chief law-officer of the Government, is considered a member of the Cabinet. He is the constitutional legal adviser and defender of the government.



PRACTICAL OPERATION OF THE NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS, AND THE RESPECTIVE POWERS OF EACH.

To understand properly the theory and operation of the the Federal Government, the peculiar relations of the FEDERATIVE SYSTEM must be considered. It must be remembered that the United States Government is not like the British Government, having one centre of political life. But that while there is a *National* Government, having for its objects *National* and chiefly external affairs, there are also *separate State Governments* with Executive, Legislative, and Judicial departments, having for their object *local* and wholly *internal* affairs.

By section 8th, Article 1st, of the Constitution, the States have delegated to Congress the power to declare war, to make peace, to enter into, treaties, coin money, regulate commerce, and in short all acts characteristic of national sovereignty; and by sec. 10th, the exercise of these national powers by the states, is prohibited. Also by article 10th of the amendments, the powers not delegated to Congress are *reserved to the states or to the people*. Therefore the powers to enact municipal laws, *i.e.*, all laws which concern only the states directly and immediately, are among the reserved rights of the *states* and the *people*, and are vested by the *people*, in the *State Legislatures*.

Thus the States having reserved these *internal* powers, neither the President nor the national Congress, under the Constitution, have any power to interfere with them in their internal, local and domestic affairs.

On the other hand the States having delegated to Congress those characteristics which pertain to *national* sovereignty, they have no control over such national and external affairs.

The separate states are, therefore, *sovereign in a municipal capacity*; while the General Government is *sovereign in a national capacity*, and is represented and known officially as *one nation* throughout the world.

The Constitutions of the several states all agree in their main features, and the powers vested in them are principally the same.

In all there is the same form, and the same principles lie at the foundation.

The executive in every State is the same, viz., a Governor. The duties of the Governors are in general analogous to those of the President, as far as the several State Governments are analogous to those of the Union. They have the nomination, and in conjunction with the Senate, the appointment of many important officers. Like the President they make recommendations to the Legislature, and take care that the laws are executed. Like the President they may be impeached and removed for treason, bribery, or other high crimes.

The departments of executive officers under the State Governments are also organised in analogy to those of the general government so far as they go. They have departments of State, Treasury, &c. But the departments of war, navy, post-office, and mint, do not exist under the State Governments, since the States have no power over these matters.

The leading provisions of the State Constitutions, are also very analogous to those of the national Constitution. Indeed the latter has in a great measure been the model of all the State Constitutions formed since its adoption;

and that again was formed from the English Constitution amended and modified by the circumstance of many states united into one national government.

Like the general Government, the powers of the state Governments are divided into three departments—Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. The legislative department is likewise divided into two branches—the Senate and House of Assembly—the former elected by larger bodies and for a longer time; the latter more popular in its character. They are governed by the same rules of precedence as the national Government. These, also, are derived from the rules of the British Parliament, except where the peculiar circumstances of Republican government render them inadmissible. They, like Congress, decide on the qualifications of their own members, and determine the rules of their own proceedings.

Every Bill, like the laws of Congress, requires the signature of the Governor to become a law, and he also has the power of vetoing it, and unless subsequently passed by a majority of two-thirds of both Houses, it is rejected.

The chief business of the state Legislatures is performed by the committees, who are also constituted in the same manner as in the national Congress, being generally appointed by the speaker. In the state Legislatures there can, of course, be no committee on foreign affairs, for the states have no foreign affairs to transact.

There are, however, some minor differences between the different state constitutions. For instance, in respect to the right of suffrage; but in most of the states the qualifications are so low that the right of suffrage, in reality, is universal among all white male citizens above twenty-one years of age. In some of the Free States free coloured persons are entitled to a vote.

Without entering into detail we will briefly notice some of the important powers possessed by the separate State Governments.

First. The enactment of domestic and municipal laws, and the enforcement of them by a proper organization of

judicial courts. These constitute the large mass of objects upon which the State Legislatures are occupied.

Among them are—

1. Those which relate to corporate and public bodies, incorporating, railway, and stock companies, chartering banks, and literary and public institutions, taxation, &c.

2. Police regulations, and the punishment of crimes, except crimes committed against the General Government.

3. Those which concern private property and rights such as the order in which the land of the ancestor shall descend to the heirs, &c.

4. Those which relate to the institution of slavery, the states having the power to abolish it entirely if they think proper, as the Northern states have already done.

Second. The power of officering the militia and governing them when not called into service by the General Government.

Third. The co-operation in the amendments of the Constitution, three fourths of the states being required to assent to every amendment.

Fourth. The mode of choosing the President of the United States, appointing the "electors" in such manner as the State Legislatures shall direct.

THE ADMISSION OF NEW STATES AND GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORIES.

In addition to the thirty-four states, there is a large district of land belonging to the United States lying westward towards, and extending to the Pacific. It embraces an area of 1,344,000 square miles, and is divided into eight districts called "Territories." Notwithstanding their immense area—on account of their distance from markets—they only contained in 1860 a white

population of 220,149. They are mostly inhabited by wild tribes of native Indians, but are rapidly being settled up from the states and by foreign emigration. These territories are under the control of Congress, but any of them may be admitted into the Union as states on the same footing as the other states on enumerating a population necessary for one representative in Congress viz., 124,000.

Each territory is established under the provision that Congress may hereafter divide the same or annex any portion of it to another state or territory. The relations sustained by each of them to the general Government are nearly identical.

The first and second clauses of section third, article fourth, of the Constitution, are the foundations upon which Congress erect and administer the territorial governments, and subsequently admit them into the Union. Under the old confederation no such provision existed; and so little anticipation was had of the growth and prosperity of those wild regions—whose population has since more than trebled the original states—that no provision existed for forming or admitting them. Since the adoption of the Constitution, however, by the thirteen original states, twenty-one new states have been formed out of the territories, and have adopted, assented to, and ratified the Constitution, and become integral parts of the Union—making thirty-four states in all—eight territories still remaining.

The power given by the Constitution to do this is one of the new principles introduced into this system of government, and is perhaps the most anomalous and most influential upon its future destiny of any. Many of the nations of antiquity held immense provinces, which constituted a part of the state, for the purposes of revenue and armies, but were never admitted upon terms of *equality*, and whose inhabitants were never citizens. The idea of constituting a government, to be increased as to the source of law—by its own colonization, is wholly new. The principle is simply this, that a colony settled upon

an adjacent territory, and within the jurisdiction of the United States, whether it be composed of citizens of the Union or emigrants from foreign nations, shall on enumerating a specific population, be admitted to equal rights, privileges, and powers with the original states. This principle is likewise unlimited in respect to the number, distance, or settlement of the colonies. The consequence is, that the original thirteen states, are left in a minority as to power in that government which they formed, and of which they were the sole possessors. The states thus added were not strictly foreign; at least they were not conquered, but they are just as subversive of the powers of the old states as if they had been taken from foreign countries. In the case of Louisiana, which was purchased, it was the accession of foreign territory. In the same manner the territory of Florida is an accession from a foreign country; and so also should the government hereafter acquire any district or territory whatever, according to the existing laws, it would first become an organised territory of the United States, and then a state. The term used in the Constitution, however, as to the admission of states, is *may*, and not *shall*. Hence, it is not *imperative* in the government of the United States to admit new states whenever *they* may demand it. The Constitution has provided for the government of territories, and Congress may undoubtedly keep them as territories.

The power of Congress over the public territory is *exclusive* and *universal*, except so far as they are restrained by stipulations in the cessions. This is not the case, however, with merely *national property*, such as forts and arsenals, where the states have not ceded the jurisdiction: in such cases, the jurisdiction of the state continues; subject, however, to the just exercise of the proper powers of the national government.

In the year 1820, upon the admission of Missouri into the Union as a state by an Act of Congress, a question was raised, whether a clause in the Act restricting the admission of slaves into the state was constitutional.

That question was not directly decided, but it was indirectly, by the Act passed,* which declared that, in all the territory north of lat. 36 deg. 30 min., not included within the limits of Missouri, slavery and involuntary servitude should for ever be prohibited.

The right of suffrage in the territory is granted to every free white male citizen of the age of twenty-one years.

The Governor is appointed for each territory by the President for four years.

The Legislative Assembly of each territory consists of a council and House of Representatives elected by the people.

All laws passed by the Legislatures and approved by the Territorial Governors must be submitted to the National Congress, and if disapproved are null and void.

The Secretary of the Territory is also appointed by the President for four years; also the United States Attorney and Marshall.

The Judiciary of each territory is vested in a supreme court and other inferior courts, from which there is an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The constitution and laws of the United States have the same force within the territories as elsewhere in the United States.

Each territory sends a delegate to the Lower House of the National Congress, who is entitled to speak and debate on all matters in which his territory is interested, but is not entitled to a vote in the House.

Two sections (of 640 acres) of land in each township of six miles square are reserved for common schools.

THE PUBLIC LANDS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Since the adoption of the United States Constitution, the public lands owned by the Colonies have been ceded

* Act of Congress, March 6, 1820, known as the Missouri compromise. This Act has since been repealed.

to the General Government, and a separate department has been established for their regulation, and a system enacted by congress for their survey and disposal.

The whole public domain is surveyed and divided by parallel lines into "townships" of six miles square or thirty-six square miles. These are again divided by parallel lines exactly one mile apart. These last squares are called "sections," and contain 640 acres, which are again divided into half and quarter sections, and also eighths. These lands are offered for sale at the several land offices located in the districts to be sold. The price is fixed at one dollar and a quarter per acre. The purchaser comes in as the assignee of the United States, and receives a patent from the President. There are some fifty different land offices, and from two to three million acres are sold annually.



The Confederate States Government.

On the 4th day of February, 1861, delegates from the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana—which had recently seceded from the United States—met at Montgomery, Alabama, and on the 8th organized the Government of the Confederate States of America, adopted a Constitution, and elected Jefferson Davis President. The following States have also since seceded from the United States, and joined the Confederacy—viz., Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas, making eleven states in all. Four of these states—viz., Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—were among the original thirteen colonies which achieved their independence from Great Britain in 1783, and had been living under the national Government of the United States since that period. The other seven states had been organized and admitted into the Union at different times under the Constitution.

It will be seen by a comparison of the Federal and Confederate Constitutions that both are based on the same theory of government—the latter being constructed from the former—and that the Confederate Constitution bears the same relation to the several Confederate States that the Federal Constitution does to the several

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Federal states, i.e., the General Government having for its object national affairs, and the State Governments reserving the control of all local and municipal affairs.

The causes which led these Confederate States to the separation from the original Union, and the formation of a separate Government; and the ground on which they base the right of secession, will be explained in the following extracts from their ordinances of secession and other official documents:—

SECESSION ORDINANCE OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Passed Dec. 20th, 1860, after Mr. Lincoln's election, but before his inauguration.]

An Ordinance to Dissolve the Union between South Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved.

DECLARATION OF CAUSES.

And now the State of South Carolina having resumed her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the immediate causes which have led to this act." * * *

We hold that the Government thus established (the United States Government) is subject to the two great principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence; and we hold further, that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle, namely, the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties, the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement, entirely releases the obligation of the other; and that, where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences.



In the present case, that fact is established with certainty. We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfil their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own statutes for the proof.*

The Constitution of the United States, in its fourth Article, provides as follows :

"No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This stipulation was so material to the compact that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and they had previously evinced their estimate of the value of such a stipulation by making it a condition in the Ordinance for the government of the territory ceded by Virginia, which obligations, and the laws of the General Government, have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have enacted laws which either nullify the acts of Congress, or render useless any attempts to execute them.* In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from the service of labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. * * *

Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States; and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from her obligation.

The ends for which this Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

These ends it endeavoured to accomplish by a Federal Government, in which each state was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights: by giving them the right to represent, and burden them with direct taxes for, three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years; and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of Slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace of and eloin the pro-

* This refers to the "personal liberty bills," which render inoperative the fugitive slave law for the rendition of fugitives.

party of the citizens of the other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes ; and those who remain, have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures, to servile insurrection.

For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the *forms* of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive Department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to Slavery.* He is to be intrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that " Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that Slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.†

* *

On the 4th of March next this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory, that the Judicial tribunal shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against Slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States. ‡

The guarantees of the Constitution will then no longer exist ; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The Slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

Sectional interest and animosity will deepen the irritation ; and all hope of remedy is rendered vain, by the fact that the public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanction of a more erroneous religious belief.

We, therefore, the people of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the recitade of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent state, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do.

ALABAMA ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

[Passed Jan. 11, 1861.]

" *Whereas*, the Election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin^o the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States of America

* Referring to the election of Mr. Lincoln.

† A quotation from Mr. Lincoln's speech at Springfield, 1858.

‡ That part of the Republican platform here referred to will be found on page 60

by a sectional party, avowedly hostile to the domestic institutions, and peace and security of the people of the State of Alabama, following upon the heels of many and dangerous infractions of the Constitution of the United States, by many of the States and people of the Northern section, is a political wrong of so insulting and menacing a character, as to justify the people of the State of Alabama in the adoption of prompt and decided measures for their future peace and security.

Therefore, be it declared and ordained, by the people of the State of Alabama, in convention assembled, that the State of Alabama now withdraws from the Union, known as the United States of America, and henceforth ceases to be one of the said United States, and is and of right ought to be a sovereign independent State. * * *

TEXAS ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

[Passed Feb. 1, 1861.]

Sec. 1. "Whereas, the Federal Government has failed to accomplish the purposes of the compact of union between these States, in giving protection either to the persons of our people upon an exposed frontier, or to the property of our citizens; and, whereas, the action of the Northern States is violative of the compact between the States and the guarantees of the Constitution; and, whereas, the recent developments in federal affairs make it evident that the power of the Federal Government is sought to be made a weapon with which to strike down the interests and property of the people of Texas and her sister slaveholding States, instead of permitting it to be, as was intended—our shield against outrage and aggression—therefore, "We, the people of the State of Texas, by delegates in the Convention assembled, do declare and ordain that the ordinance adopted by our Convention of delegates on the 4th day of July, A.D. 1845, and afterwards ratified by us, under which the Republic of Texas was admitted into the Union with other States, and became a party to the compact styled 'The Constitution of the United States of America' be and is hereby repealed and annulled."

VIRGINIA ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

[Passed April 17, 1861.]

The people of Virginia, in the ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America, adopted by them in convention on the 25th day of June, 1788, having declared that the powers granted under the said constitution were derived from the people of the United States, and might be resumed whenever the same should be perverted to their injury and oppression, and the Federal Government having perverted said powers, not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but to the oppression of the Southern slaveholding States.

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Now, therefore, we, the people of Virginia, do declare and ordain, that the ordinance adopted by the people of this State in convention on the 25th day of June, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and all acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying or adopting amendments to said Constitutions, are hereby repealed and abrogated; that the Union between the State of Virginia and the other States under the constitution aforesaid is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State. And they do further declare that said Constitution of the United States of America is no longer binding on any of the citizens of this State.

EXTRACT FROM PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S MESSAGE REFERRING TO THE NATIONAL CRISIS, DEC. 3RD, 1860.

No nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress or the Territorial Legislatures to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different states to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.* All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union (as others have been), in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century has at length produced it malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence, a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political

* Referring to the "Personal Liberty Bills," passed by several of the Northern States.

Union, however fraught with blessing and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a Union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God that He would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time and remove the cause of danger. It cannot be denied that, for five and twenty years, the agitation at the North against slavery in the South has been incessant.

This agitation has been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county Conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject; and appeals, in pamphlets and other forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question for ever and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country!

They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the Slave States have contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I greatly rely.

Without their aid it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President* does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union.

"It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe never will pass, any Act to exclude slavery from the Territories, and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution.

Those who have appealed from the judgment of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if they could, invest a Territorial

* Referring to Mr. Lincoln's election.

Legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property.* This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the Federal constitution to exercise

EXTRACT FROM THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—

The Platform on which Mr. Lincoln was elected President. Adopted at Chicago, 1860.

7th Clause.—That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery in any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8th.—That the nominal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom: that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it: and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

* Referring to Mr. Douglas's doctrine of "popular sovereignty" in the territories.

Constitution of the Confederate States.

PREAMBLE.

WE, the People of the Confederate States, each state acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a Permanent Federal Government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, invoking the favour and guidance of Almighty God, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the Confederate States of America.

The Constitution contains seven articles.

Article 1st. Relates to the Legislative Power and to Personal Rights.

Article 2nd. To the Executive Power and to the mode of electing the President and Vice-President.

Article 3rd. To the Judicial Power.

Article 4th. To the validity of Public Acts and Records—the rights of Citizenship—the admission of new States—and the forms of State Governments.

Article 5th. Relates to the mode of amending the Constitution.

Article 6th. To the national faith and the binding force of the Constitution.

Article 7th. To the mode of its ratification.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Legislative Power and of Personal Rights.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein delegated shall be vested in a Congress of the Confederate States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall be citizens of the Confederate States, and have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature. But no person of foreign birth, and not a citizen of the Confederate States, shall be allowed to vote for any officer, civil or political, State or Federal.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Confederacy, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons—including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed—three-fifths of all slaves. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the Confederate States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every fifty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of South Carolina shall be entitled to choose six, the state of Georgia ten, the state of Alabama nine, the state of Florida two, the state of Mississippi seven, the state of Louisiana six, and the state of Texas six.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from

any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of Impeachment, except that any judicial or other Federal officer resident or acting solely within the limits of any state may be impeached by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature thereof.

SECTION III.

1. The Senate of the Confederate States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen for six years by the Legislature thereof at the regular session next immediately preceding the commencement of the term of service; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the Confederate States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the Confederate States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the Confederate States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, subject to the provisions of this Constitution; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the times and places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such

parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the Confederate States. They shall in all cases, except treason and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the Confederate States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the Confederate States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office. But Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department.

SECTION VII.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the Confederate

States ; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections if large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. at after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by whom it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law. The President may approve any appropriation and disapprove any other appropriation in the same bill. In such case he shall in signing the bill, designate the appropriations disapproved, and shall return a copy of such appropriations with his objections to the House in which the bill shall have originated, and the same proceedings shall then be had as in case of other bills disapproved by the President.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the Confederate States ; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, may be repassed by two-thirds of both Houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power :—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts and pro-

vide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the Confederate States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes; but neither this nor any other clause contained in the Constitution shall ever be construed to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce, except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, and buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbours, and the removing of obstructions in river navigation, in all which cases such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof.

4. To establish uniform laws of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the Confederate States; but no law of Congress shall discharge any debt contracted before the passage of the same;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the Confederate States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-routes;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies com-

mitted on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederate States, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederate States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases, whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of one or more States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the Confederate States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the Confederate States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

1 The importations of negroes of the African race

from any foreign country other than the slave-holding states or territories of the United States of America is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any state not a member of, or territory not belonging to, this Confederacy.

3. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

4. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law, or the law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed.

5. No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

6. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State, except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses.

7. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.

8. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money shall be published from time to time.

9. Congress shall appropriate no money from the Treasury except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of department, and submitted to Congress by the President; or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies; or for the payment of claims against the Confederate States, the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the Government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish.

10. All bills appropriating money shall specify in

Federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation, and the purposes for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant after such contract shall have been made or such service rendered.

11. No title of nobility shall be granted by the Confederate States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

12. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

13. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

14. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

15. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

16. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

17. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

18. In suits at commonlaw, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact so tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the Confederacy than according to the rules of the common law.

19. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

20. Every law, or resolution having the force of law, shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.

SECTION X.

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the Confederate States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, except on seagoing vessels, for the improvement of its rivers and harbours navigated by

the said vessels; but such duties shall not conflict with any treaties of the Confederate States with foreign nations. And any surplus of revenue thus derived shall, after making such improvement, be paid into the common treasury; nor shall any state keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. But when any river divides or flows through two or more states, they may enter into compacts with each other to improve the navigation thereof.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Executive Power and the mode of electing the President and Vice-President.

SECTION I.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the Confederate States of America. He and the Vice-President shall hold their offices for the term of six years; but the President shall not be re-eligible. The President and Vice-President shall be elected as follows:—

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the Confederate States shall be appointed an Elector.

3. The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President,

and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the Confederate States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

4. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

5. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the Confederate States.

6. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give

their votes ; which day shall be the same throughout the Confederate States.

7. No person, except a natural-born citizen of the Confederate States, or a citizen thereof, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, or a citizen thereof born in the United States prior to the 20th of December, 1860, shall be eligible to the office of President ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the limits of the Confederate States as they may exist at the time of his election.

8. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

9. The President shall at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the Confederate States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation :

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Confederate States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution thereof.”

SECTION II.

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the Confederate States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the Confederate States. He may require the

opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the Confederate States, except in cases of Impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the Confederate States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The principal officer in each of the executive departments, and all persons connected with the diplomatic service, may be removed from office at the pleasure of the President. All other civil officers of the executive department may be removed at any time by the President or other appointing power when their services are unnecessary, or for dishonesty, incapacity, inefficiency, misconduct, or neglect of duty; and when so removed, the removal shall be reported to the Senate, together with the reasons therefore.

4. The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session; but no person rejected by the Senate shall be re-appointed to the same office during their ensuing recess.

SECTION III.

The President shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Confederacy, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he

shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the Confederate States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the Confederate States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the Confederate States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under this Constitution, the laws of the Confederate States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls ;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ;—to controversies to which the Confederacy States shall be a party ;—to controversies between two or more States ;—between a State and citizen of another State, where the State is plaintiff ;—between citizens claiming lands under grants of different States, and

between a State, or the citizen thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects; but no State shall be sued by a citizen or subject of any foreign State.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes except in cases of Impeachment, shall be by jury: and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

1. Treason against the Confederate States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Validity of Public Acts and Records—the Rights of Citizenship—the Admission of New States, and the forms of State Governments.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws

prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy with their slaves and other property, and the right of property in such slaves shall not be thereby impaired.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, against the law of such State who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No slave or other person held to service or labor in any State or territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or lawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

1. Other States may be admitted into this Confederacy by a vote of two-thirds of the whole House of Representatives and two-thirds of the Senate, the Senate voting by States; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning the property of the Confederate States, including the lands thereof.

3. The Confederate States may acquire new territory, and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States lying without the limits of the several States, and may permit them, at such time and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form states to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognised and protected by Congress and by the territorial governments, and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and territories shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the states or territories of the Confederate States.

SECTION IV.

The Confederate States shall guarantee to every State that now is, or hereafter may become, a member of this Confederacy, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature (or of the Executive when the Legislature is not in session), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Mode of Amending the Constitution.

Upon the demand of any three States, legally assembled in their several Conventions, the Congress shall summon a convention of all the states to take into consideration such amendments to the Constitution as the said States shall concur in suggesting at the time when the said demand is made; and should any of the proposed amendments to the Constitution be agreed on by the said convention—voting by States—an dthe same be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, or by conventions in two-thirds thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposedby

the general convention, they shall henceforward form a part of this Constitution. But no State shall without its consent, be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the National Faith and the Binding Force of the Constitution.

1. The Government established by this Constitution is the successor of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, and all the laws passed by the latter shall continue in force until the same shall be repealed or modified; and all the officers appointed by the same shall remain in office until their successors are appointed and qualified or the offices abolished.

2. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the Confederate States under this Constitution as under the Provisional Government.

3. This Constitution and the laws of the Confederate States, made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the Confederate States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

4. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the Confederate States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the Confederate States.

5. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people of the several States.

6. The powers not delegated to the Confederate States

by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people thereof.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Mode of its Ratification.

1. The ratification of the conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

2. When five States shall have ratified this Constitution in the manner before specified, the Congress under the Provisional Constitution shall prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President, and for the meeting of the Electoral College, and for counting the votes and inaugurating the President. They shall also prescribe the time for holding the first election of members of Congress under this Constitution, and the time for assembling the same. Until the assembling of such Congress, the Congress under the Provisional Constitution shall continue to exercise the legislative powers granted them, not extending beyond the time limited by the constitution of the Provisional Government.

[*Adopted unanimously, March 11, 1861.*]

THE PRINCIPAL POINTS IN THE CONFEDERATE CONSTITUTION WHEREIN IT DIFFERS FROM THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

1. The preamble invokes "the favour and guidance of Almighty God," and asserts that each State is "acting in its sovereign and independent character;" but omits the common defence and general welfare clauses.

2. Any judicial or other federal officer, resident and acting solely within the limits of any State, may be impeached by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of the legislature thereof.

3. Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officer in each of the executive departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department.

4. The President may approve any appropriation and disapprove any other appropriation in the same bill.

5. No bounties shall be granted from the treasury, and no duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations shall be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

6. Congress shall have no power to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce, except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbours, and the removing of obstructions in river navigation, and in all such cases such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof.

7. The expenses of the Post Office Department, after the 1st of March, 1863, shall be paid out of its own revenue.

8. The importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country other than the slave-holding states or territories of the United States is forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

9. Congress shall have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any state not a member of, or territory not belonging to, the Confederacy.

10. Congress shall appropriate no money from the treasury, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of departments, and submitted to Congress by the President, unless by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, or to pay its

own expenses and contingencies, or claims against the Confederate States duly declared.

11. Congress is required to establish a tribunal to adjudicate claims against the Government.

12. Bills appropriating money must specify in Federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation, and the purposes for which it is made, and Congress can grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant, after such contract shall have been made or such service rendered.

13. Every law shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in its title.

14. When any river divides or flows through two or more states they may enter into compacts with each other to improve the navigation thereof.

15. The President and Vice-President shall hold their offices for six years; but the President shall not be re-eligible.

16. The President may remove any officer in the executive department and persons connected with the diplomatic service at pleasure; but upon the removal of civil officers for incapacity or misconduct, such removal to be reported to the Senate, with the reasons therefor.

17. No State shall be sued by a citizen or subject of any foreign State.

18. The citizens of each State shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy with their slaves and other property, and the right of property in such slaves shall not thereby be impaired.

19. Other States may be admitted by a vote of two-thirds of the whole House of Representatives, and two-thirds of the Senate, the Senate voting by States.

20. The institution of negro slavery, as it now exists shall be recognised and protected by Congress and by the Territorial Governments in the Territory. And the inhabitants of the several States shall have a right to take to the territory any Slaves held by them.

21. The Constitution may be amended upon the

84 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CONSTITUTIONS.

demand of any three States for a Convention of all the States suggesting the amendments. And should the Convention of all the States concur in the proposed amendments, and the same be ratified by two-thirds of the State Legislatures or by Conventions in two-thirds of the States, they shall form a part of the Constitution.

22. No law impairing or denying the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed.

23. The twelve amendments to the Federal Constitution are embodied in the Confederate Constitution.



APPENDIX.

THE COMPARATIVE RESOURCES OF THE FREE AND OF THE SLAVE-HOLDING STATES (EXCLUSIVE OF THE TERRITORIES), ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE EIGHTH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1860.

	In the 19 Free States.	In the 15 Slave States.	Total in the 34 States.
Free Population.....	18,907,753	8,292,782	27,200,535
Slave „		3,950,511	3,950,511
Total „	18,907,753	12,243,293	31,151,046
Number of persons subject to military duty	2,479,688	982,366	3,412,002
Increase of Population since 1850...	5,454,661	2,680,880	8,084,991
Assessed value of real estate and personal property ...*	\$6,541,027,619	5,465,808,957	12,006,836,576
Number of acres of improved lands ...	88,181,466	74,623,055	162,804,521
Cash value of farms, farming implements & machinery	\$4,209,062,885	2,675,476,321	\$6,884,539,15
Miles of Railway...	19,942	10,851	30,793
Milch cows, number	5,235,254	3,428,011	8,663,265
Working oxen	1,011,868	1,176,286	2,187,154
Other cattle.....	6,412,200	8,187,125	14,599,325
Sheep	15,367,812	7,064,116	22,431,428
Swine	11,846,629	20,651,182	32,497,811
Total live stock ...	89,878,268	40,506,780	80,378,988
Value of live stock...	\$574,525,612	524,336,743	\$1,098,862,355
Wheat, bushels	120,170,315	50,005,712	170,176,027

* The value is given in dollars, which, being divided by 5, gives the amount in pounds).

APPENDIX.

	In the 19 Free States.	In the 15 Slave States.	Total in the 34 States.
Rye produced, bbls.	16,897,379	4,067,667	20,965,046
Indian corn, bbls	392,756,465	434,938,063	827,694,528
Oats, bushels	188,864,580	33,224,515	172,089,095
Rice produced, lbs ..	4,139	187,136,084	187,140,173
Tobacco produced, lbs	58,784,028	370,630,723	429,364,751
Ginned cotton, bales prod., 400lbs. each	6	5,196,938	5,196,944
Irish and sweet potatoes, peas, & beans, produced, bbls ...	108,494,753	63,229,982	166,724,753
Wool produced, lbs	45,247,012	14,685,316	59,932,328
Barley & buckwheat produced, bushels	31,598,149	1,666,516	33,264,665
Value of orchard and market garden products	\$26,894,014	8,103,216	\$34,997,230
Number of gallons of wine made	1,427,516	423,308	1,850,819
Butter made, lbs ...	368,646,282	91,026,370	459,672,652
Cheese made, lbs ...	104,631,096	1,257,557	105,788,652
Hay made, tons.....	17,215,952	1,857,554	19,073,506
Clover and grass seed made, bbls	1,503,050	325,667	1,828,717
Hemp prepared, tons	40,800	63,680	104,480
Cane sugar made, hhds of 1,000lbs.	283	301,922	302,205
Cane molasses produced, gallons.....	66	16,337,014	16,337,080
Sorghum molasses, ditto.....	4,717,125	2,458,917	7,176,042
Maple molasses produced, gallons.....	1,474,155	470,144	1,944,299
Maple sugar produced, lbs	37,186,065	1,677,533	38,863,568
Hops, ditto.....	10,982,296	27,537	11,009,833
Flax, ditto	2,045,630	1,733,213	3,778,843
Flax seed produced, bbls	513,227	98,553	611,780
Silk cocoons produced, lbs	5,350	1,211	6,561
Beeswax & honey do.	10,987,926	15,382,905	26,370,831

APPENDIX.

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	In the 19 Free States.	In the 15 Slave States.	Total in the 34 States.
Total value of Manufactures.....	\$1,609,699,058	288,188	[1,892,887,058
Value of home-made manufactures	\$5,699,727	18,526,734	24,226,461
Value of animals slaughtered	\$105,669,980	106,862,075	\$212,082,055
Number of horses, asses, and mules...	3,669,289	3,537,236	7,206,475

A VIEW OF POPULATION, IMMIGRATION, WEALTH, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURE, COMMERCE, SHIPPING, RAILWAYS, &c., OF THE WHOLE THIRTY-FOUR STATES, SHOWING THE INCREASE SINCE 1850. FROM THE OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE EIGHTH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1860.

Total area of the United States in 1860,	
square miles	2,923,208
Ditto, Acres	7,483,412,480
The true value of real estate and personal property in 1850	*\$7,185,780,228
Ditto in 1860	16,159,616,068
Increase in ten years	8,925,481,011
Aggregate increase, 126½ per cent., and an increase of 68 per cent. per capita of the free population.	
Assessed value of real and personal property in 1850	\$6,010,207,809
Ditto in 1860	\$12,006,838,576
Number of Banks in 1860... ..	770
Capital	\$194,421,018
Loans	\$278,887,927
Specie	\$37,893,390
Circulation	\$52,089,59
Deposits	\$12,6234,474
Miles of railway in operation in 1860	30,793

* The value is given in dollars, which, being divided by 5, gives the amount in pounds.

Cost of construction	\$1,151,560,829
Miles built since 1850	22,204
Miles of city passenger railways not included in above... ..	402
Cost of ditto	\$14,862,840
Value of agricultural implements manufactured in 1860... ..	\$17,802,514
Ditto in 1850... ..	6,842,611
Increase, 160 per cent.	
Tons of iron ore mined	2,514,282
Tons of pig iron mined	884,474
Value of ditto	\$19,487,790
Increase, on 1850, 44 per cent.	
Tons of bar and other rolled iron made... ..	406,298
Value of ditto	\$22,248,796
Increase on 1850, 89½ per cent.	
Value of steam engines and machinery produced in 1860	\$47,118,555
Ditto in 1850	\$27,998,334
Increase on 1850, 68 per cent.	
Value of iron founding in 1860	\$28,546,656
Increase on 1850, 42 per cent.	
Tons of coal produced in 1860	55,173,409
Value of ditto	\$19,865,765
Increase on 1850, 170 per cent.	
Tons of copper ore mined in 1860	14,432
Value of ditto	\$3,316,516
Number of sewing machines manufactured in 1860	116,330
Capital invested in ditto	\$1,390,250
Number of establishments	46
Hands employed	2,194
Value of machines produced	\$5,605,343
Value of machines exported in 1861	\$61,000
Value of books printed in 1860	\$11,843,459
Value of job work printed in 1860	\$7,181,218
Value of newspapers printed in 1860	\$20,653,371
Total value of printing	\$39,678,048
Total value of printing in 1850	\$11,352,705
Total number of newspapers in 1860 (political)	3,242
Ditto (religious)	277
Number of daily papers printed	387
Number of copies circulated annually...	927,951,548

*Number of ships and barques built in the six years ending 1860	...	...	1,259
Number of brigs	...	...	897
“ schooners	...	...	2,908
“ sloops and canal boats	...	...	2,480
“ steamers	...	...	1,209
Total tonnage of the above	...	...	2,048,427
Total tonnage of the United States in 1860	...	...	3,772,489
Estimated value of this tonnage	...	...	\$221,592,480

VALUE OF EXPORTS IN 1860.

Cotton	...	...	...	\$191,806,855
Tobacco	...	...	...	\$15,906,547
Manufactures	...	...	...	\$18,848,949
Gold and Silver	...	...	...	\$56,846,851
Other Articles	...	...	...	\$89,785,572

Total Exports \$373,189,274

Value of Total Imports in 1860 \$362,166,354

Acres of public land appropriated to educational purposes in the aggregate	...	50,000,000
Number of persons who have received instruction in the various educational institutions in 1860	...	5,000,000

EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

	1851 to 1860.	1820 to 1860.
From England	247,125	302,655
„ Ireland	748,740	967,866
„ Scotland	88,831	47,899
„ Wales	6,319	7,935
Additional from Great Britain and Ireland	297,578	1,425,001
Total from United Kingdom	1,388,098	2,750,847
Italy	7,012	11,202
Germany	907,780	1,486,044
France	76,358	208,063
British America	59,301	117,142
Other countries	299,670	489,116
Total aliens	2,598,214	5,062,414

* The State of Maine takes the lead in ship-building; New York is second Massachusetts third; Pennsylvania fourth; and Connecticut fifth.

Alabama	105,402	261,787	422,813	618,904	829,210	1,002,717	1,109,847
Arizona	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arkansas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
California	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colorado	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delaware	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Illinois	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indiana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Iowa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kansas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kentucky	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Louisiana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maine	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Massachusetts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Michigan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mississippi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Missouri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nebraska	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nevada	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Jersey	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New York	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Carolina	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Dakota	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ohio	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oklahoma	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oregon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rhode Island	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Dakota	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tennessee	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Texas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Utah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vermont	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Virginia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
West Virginia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	5,305,937	7,239,814	9,638,191	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,790

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE
EIGHTH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1862

SIR,—

"In the collection of the details to be embodied in the Eighth Census there have been employed 64 marshals, under whose direction there have been employed 4,417 assistants. * *

"There is no department of knowledge of more importance than that embraced in statistics of the movement of population and increase of wealth, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. In these are seen the progress of nations from one period to another. The result of the Eighth Decennial Census of the United States, marks a progress of rapidity unexampled in the history of the world." * *

"POPULATION.—The actual increase of the entire free and slave population from 1850 to 1860, omitting the Indian tribes, was 8,225,464, and the rate per cent. is set down at 36. * *

"No more striking evidence can be given of the rapid advancement of our country in the first element of national progress than that the increase of its inhabitants during the last ten years is greater by more than 1,000,000 of souls than the whole population in 1810, and nearly as great as the entire number of people in 1820." * *

"PRODUCTS OF INDUSTRY.—The returns of manufactures exhibit a most gratifying increase, and present at the same time an imposing view of the magnitude to which this branch of the national industry has attained within the last decennium. * *

"The total value of domestic manufactures (including fisheries and the products of the mines) for the year ending June 1, 1860, will reach an aggregate value of \$1,900,000,000 (£380,000,000). This result exhibits an increase of more than 86 per centum in ten years! The growth of this branch of American labour appears, therefore, to have been in much greater ratio than that of the population." * *

"PRINTING.—The increase of printing presses in the book and newspaper manufacture has been great beyond all precedent, and has exerted the most beneficent influence by cheapening and multiplying the vehicles of instruction. Its effects are everywhere apparent. * *

"The value of book, job, and newspaper printing is returned as \$39,428,043, (£7,885,608,) of which eleven millions' worth consisted of books, being an increase on 1850 of \$28,325,338 (£5,665,067). * *

The manufacture of paper, especially printing paper, has increased in an equal ratio. * *

"THE PUBLIC PRESS.—Among the elements which determine the characteristics of a people no branch of social statistics occupies a more important place than that which exhibits the number, variety and diffusion of newspapers and other periodicals. * *

The statement relating to this subject strikingly illustrates the fact that the people of the United States are peculiarly 'a newspaper-reading cation,' and serves to show how large a portion of their reading is political. Of 4,051 papers and periodicals published in the United States at the date of the census of 1860, 3,242 were political in their character

and 289 were devoted to literature, being an increase of nearly 100 per cent. since 1850. The total increase since 1850 is 1,489." * *

"PROGRESS OF RAILWAYS.—The decade which terminated in 1860 was particularly distinguished by the progress of railways in the United States. At its commencement the total extent in operation was 8,588 miles, costing \$296,260,128; at its close, 30,598 miles, costing \$1,134,452,909 (£226,890,581); the increase in mileage having been 22,004 miles, and in cost of construction \$838,192,781 (£167,638,556.)

"While the increase in mileage was nearly 300 per cent., and the amount invested still greater, the consequences that have resulted from these works have been augmented in vastly greater ratio. Up to the commencement of the decade our railroads sustained only an unimportant relation to the internal commerce of the country. Nearly all the lines then in operation were local or isolated works, and neither in extent nor design had begun to be formed into that vast and connected system which, like a web, now covers every portion of our wide domain, enabling each work to contribute to the traffic and value of all, and supplying means of locomotion and a market, almost at its own door, for nearly every citizen of the United States. * *

"The SEWING MACHINE has also been improved and introduced, in the last ten years, to an extent which has made it altogether a revolutionary instrument. It has opened avenues to profitable and healthful industry for thousands of industrious females to whom the labors of the needle had become wholly unremunerative and injurious in their effects. Like all automatic powers, it has enhanced the comforts of every class by cheapening the process of manufacture of numerous articles of prime necessity, without permanently subtracting from the average means of support of any portion of the community. It has added a positive increment to the permanent wealth of the country by creating larger and more varied applications of capital and skill in the several branches of which it is auxiliary. The manufacture of the machines has itself become one of considerable magnitude and has received a remarkable impulse since 1850. The returns show an aggregate of 116,330 machines made in nine States in 1860, the value of which was \$5,605,345, (£1,121,109). During the year 1861 sewing machines to the value of over \$61,000 were exported, to foreign countries. It is already employed in a great variety of operations and upon different materials, and is rapidly becoming an indispensable and general appendage to the household. * *

"The influence of improved machinery is also conspicuously exhibited in the manufacture of Sawed and Planned Timber. In which the United States stands altogether unrivalled, as well for the extent and perfection of the mechanism employed as the amount of the product. This reached in 1860, the value of \$95,912,286, (£19,182,457) an increase of 64 per cent. in the last decade." * *

"REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE.—The value of individual property in the states and territories exceeds the sum of \$16,000,000,000, (£3,200,000,000) representing an increase of 126 per cent. in ten years in value in the aggregate and an increase of 68 per cent. per capita of the free population. The rate of increase has been immense in the western States, while the ab-

absolute gain in the older States has been no less remarkable. For example, the rate of increase in Iowa has been more than 900 per cent., while the absolute increase of wealth has been \$247,000,000; while Pennsylvania has increased at the rate of 96 per cent., with an absolute gain in wealth of near \$700,000,000, (£140,000,000)." * *

"Corroboration.—The rapidity with which the cultivation of cotton has increased in the United States is truly wonderful. In the beginning of the present century the annual exportation was less than 5,000 bales; in 1849 the quantity grown had reached 2,445,793 bales of ginned cotton of 400 pounds each; in 1859 it had further increased to 5,196,944 bales, or more than 110 per cent. in ten years. The value of this crop was \$200,000,000, (£40,000,000)." * *

"The figures which we have given make it appear that during the decade from 1850 to 1860 more than 50,000,000 of acres of land were brought into cultivation. The productions of agriculture multiplied in ratio greater than the population. The banking capital ran up from \$227,469,074 in 1850 to \$421,890,095 (£84,376,919) in 1860, while the circulating currency was augmented \$52,089,560 (£10,417,912). The amount of insurances increased about \$311,000,000. More than 22,000 miles of railroad were completed, and the capital involved increased from \$296,649,148 in 1850, to \$1,161,560,829, (£230,312,165) in 1860; while to indicate on the map of our country the lines of telegraph would be to represent the web of the spider over its entire surface. Our internal and foreign trade kept pace with our advances in production and increase of capital. Education, free to a great extent, has been made more accessible, and crime has rather diminished.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JOS. C. G. KENNEDY,

Superintendent, Census Department.

Hon. CALSB B. SMITH,

Secretary of the Interior.

THE FEDERAL NAVY.

There are in the Federal navy 41 iron-clad ships, already built or to be completed early in 1863. Their aggregate tonnage is 47,281 tons, or an average of 1,153 tons. They are mostly turret ships, carrying in the aggregate 119 guns, as follows:—

1	carrying	10	guns	...	(the Dunderburg)
2	"	6	"	...	(the Roanoke and Galena)
10	"	4	"	...	in 2 turrets
27	"	2	"	...	in 1 "
1	"	8	"	...	in 1 "

Of these guns 33 are 11-inch bore, 24 are 13-inch and 62 are 15-inch—the latter throwing shot of 640 lbs. weight. In addition to the above are 9 iron-clad steamers for river service, carrying in the aggregate 108 guns, an average of 12 guns each, of smaller calibre.

The whole Federal naval force consists of 323 steamers and 104 sailing vessels, carrying in all 8268 guns.

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